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Nei Jing Tu, a Daoist Diagram of the Internal Circulation of Man

David Teh-Yu Wang

The Daoist diagram Nei Jing Tu not only depicts the concept of the circulation of the vital force (qi) and the formation of the internal elixir in Daoist physiological alchemy, but also illustrates the syncretic fusion of Daoism with Buddhism. The macro-microcosmic configuration of this diagram consists of numerous motifs that possess multiple iconographic significance.

The Walters Art Gallery was recently given more than four hundred Chinese rubbings by Laurance P. Roberts. Among the rubbings, which were acquired in Beijing in 1932–33, one titled at the top *Nei Jing Tu* (no. 96.46) is of particular interest (figs. 1–3). This work is impressive because of both its size (129.5 x 54.2 cm) and its rare subject matter. The *Nei Jing Tu* (“diagram of the internal circulation of man”) shows a cross-section in profile of the head, thorax, and abdomen of a human body in yoga posture, facing our left. It is an illustration of the Daoist practice of physiological alchemy.

The *Nei Jing Tu* was analyzed in 1933 by Von Erwin Rousselle¹ and in 1983 by Joseph Needham.² Although Rousselle’s study makes reference to Daoist physiological alchemy, it tends to look at the subject from the angle of Chan meditation. In Needham’s book, on the other hand, the *Nei Jing Tu* is only mentioned briefly, within the context of a study of Daoist physiological alchemy. These analyses provide only partial answers to the iconographic issues presented by the rubbing. The present article is intended to provide a more complete interpretation of the iconography, in order to clarify the macro-microcosmic and metaphysical significance of the diagram.

Origin of the Diagram

The title *Nei Jing Tu* can be understood as “Diagram of the Internal Circulation of Man.” The compound *Nei*

Jing first appears in the famous medical work *Huangdi nei jing su wen* (The Yellow Emperor’s Classic of Internal Medicine). This is the oldest extant medical book, ascribed to Huangdi, the Yellow Emperor. Huangdi, one of the legendary rulers in the dawn of Chinese civilization, is thought to have reigned from 2696 to 2598 B.C. Although it may not be possible to ascertain its exact age, the *Huangdi nei jing su wen* was in existence by the Western Han (206 B.C.–A.D. 25).³ The philosophical foundations of this medical book, embodied in such concepts as Dao, Yin and Yang, the five elements, numerology, hexagrams, and the Celestial Stems (*tian gan*), are closely related to Daoist philosophy.⁴ Moreover, anatomical and physiological concepts were presented in the *Huangdi nei jing su wen* for the first time. Such anatomical, physiological, and philosophical concepts laid the foundation for the development of the “Diagram of the Internal Circulation of Man.”

The Walters rubbing was made from an engraving that was itself a transcription of a painting in hanging-scroll format. According to the inscription in the lower left-hand corner (fig. 3), by a certain Pure-Cloud Daoist Priest (*Suyun daoren*) Liu Chengyin, the painting was found in a temple at an unidentifiable Gaosong Mountain:

This painting has never had copies circulating anywhere in the world. Because the Dao (Way) of the true Gold Elixir (*dan dao*) is broad yet delicate in its principle, and those whose roots [of perceiving the Dao] are blocked from learning [the essence of the Dao of Internal Elixir], this diagram is little known in the world. When I, by chance, was browsing books and paintings in a studio at Gaosong Mountain, I noticed that this painting was hung on the wall. The painting is refined and minute in style. The notations of arteries, junctures of bones, and networks of veins are clearly given, and each of them is accompanied by secret lore. I looked at this painting for long, and I began to comprehend that breathing out and breathing in (*huxi*), as well as expelling out and taking in (*tuna*), are actually waxing and waning

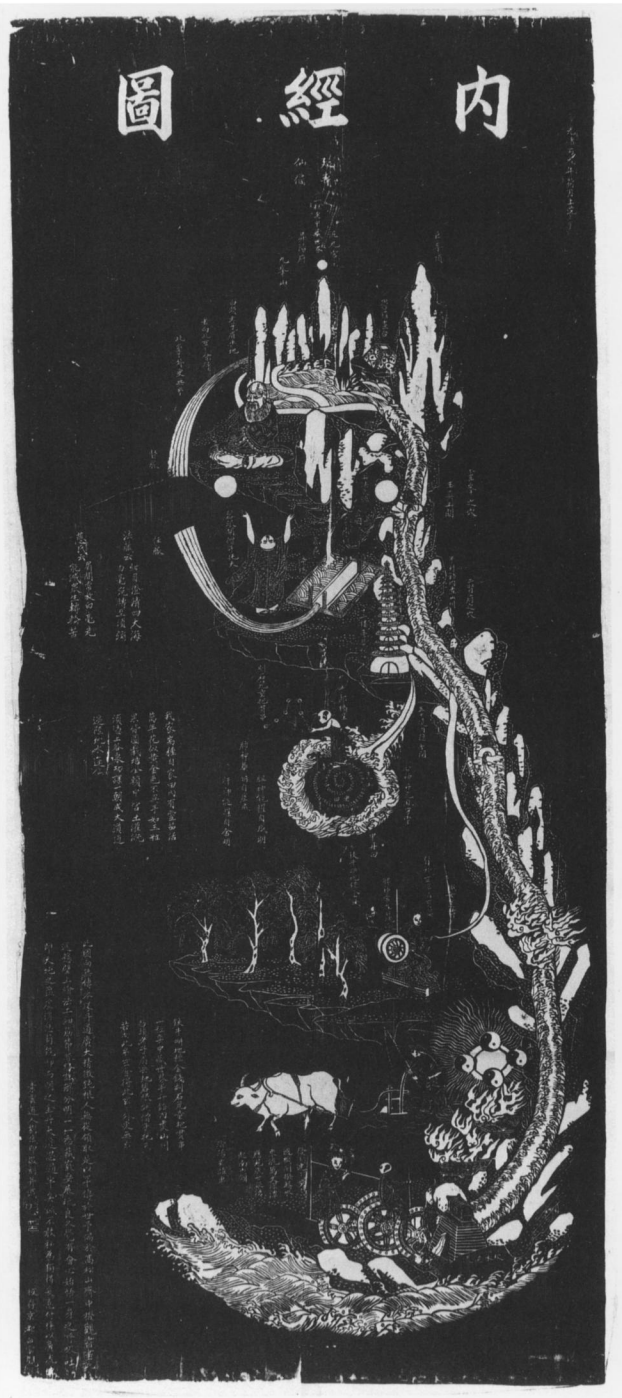


Fig. 1. *Nei Jing Tu* (A Daoist Diagram of the Internal Circulation of Man), rubbing from stone stela, Baltimore, the Walters Art Gallery, no. 96.46.

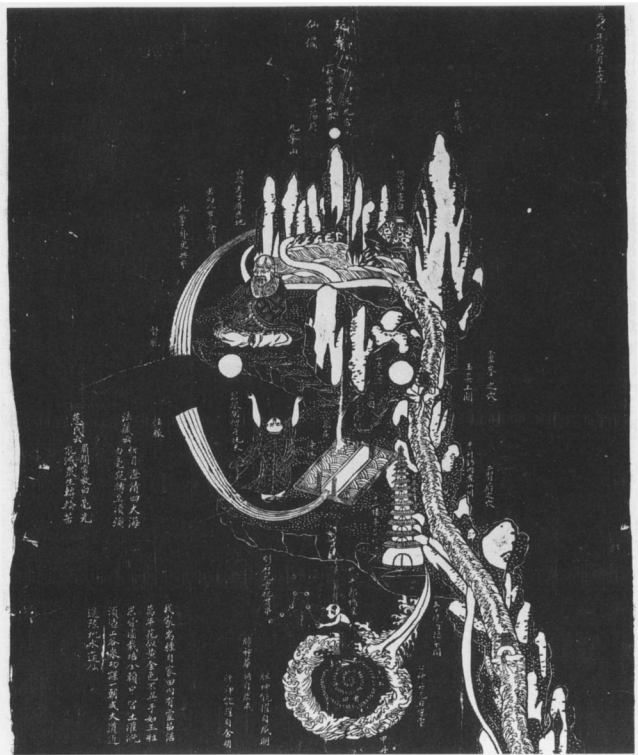


Fig. 2. Detail of figure 1.

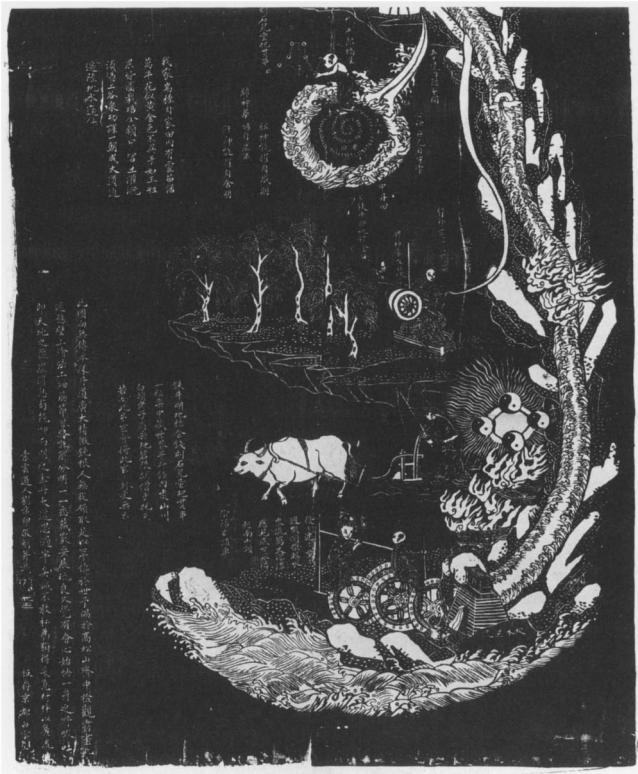


Fig. 3. Detail of figure 1.

(*yingxu*) as well as the ebb and flow (*xiaoxi*) of the cosmos. If one understands this, one then grasps more than half of the main essentials of the true Gold Elixir. I dare not keep this [painting] to myself alone, and I therefore engrave it on a printing plate (*zi*) for popular circulation.

[I,] Pure-Cloud Daoist Priest Liu Chengyin engrave and inscribe [this] in reverence (Followed by two seals; one carries the character “*Cheng*,” and the other “*Yin*.”)

Another short line after this inscription reads: “The printing plate (*ban*) is stored in the White Cloud Daoist Temple (*Baiyun guan*) in the capital [i.e., Beijing].” The White Cloud Daoist Temple is the largest Daoist temple in China, the seat of the Complete Perfection (*Quan zhen*) sect of Daoism in Beijing, as well as the chief monastery of the Longmen subject established by Qiu Changchun (1148–1227).⁵

Although in the short inscription the printing plate is referred to as a *ban* (“wooden plank” or “wooden block”), the rubbing was surely made from a stone stele that may still be in the White Cloud Temple.⁶ The engraving on the stele was made in the sixth lunar month in 1886, according to an inscription in the upper right-hand corner (fig. 2).

Rousselle published a painting of the *Nei Jing Tu*, without mentioning its location (fig. 4). This painting could be the one seen by Liu Chengyin, a copy thereof, or a work derived from the Walters rubbing. The Walters rubbing bears the caption *Nei Jing Tu* as well as the long inscription by Liu Chengyin, the short inscription mentioning the White Cloud Temple, and the date of engraving. None of this information is in the painting; apparently, all of it was added when the engraving was made. The caption *Nei Jing Tu* written in big characters clearly identifies the subject matter. Other captions convey similar contents, although there are minor discrepancies in wording in the two versions. The captions in the painting, however, are more correctly written than those in the rubbing—especially the poems and the names of the six viscera, which are discussed below. Moreover, there are two captions in the painting that are not found in the rubbing. These considerations point to the possibility that the painting is the work closer to the original.

The major difference in pictorial representation between the painting and the rubbing lies in the fact that there is a halo behind the head region in the painting as well as an oblong body mandala. These lines isolate the image from the surrounding space. There are also variations in the details of the rubbing. For example, in the rubbing, the woman by the spinning wheel in the lower central section is shown seat-

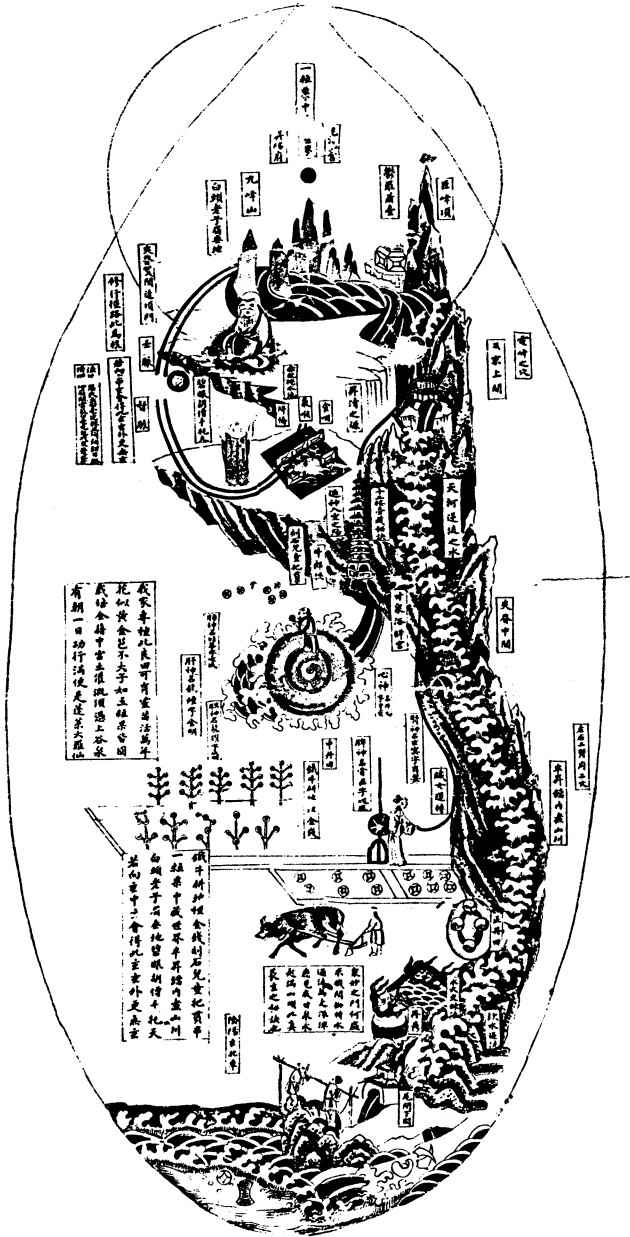


Fig. 4. *Nei Jing Tu*, hanging scroll, location unknown [from E. Rousselle, “Ne Ging Tu, ‘Die Tafel des inneren Gewebes’ ein Taoistisches Meditationsbild mit Beschriftung,” *Sinica*, 8 (1933), 207–216, fig. 22].

ed, but in the painting, she is standing. In the rubbing, there are five naturalistic trees to the left of the woman. In the painting, there are ten coin-growing schematic plants in two rows.

It might appear that the painting is closer to the original on which the engraving was based. Nevertheless, the painting may well be a copy of the rubbing. In the painting, not only are the figures and buildings depicted in an aesthetically much less satisfactory manner, but the water is much more schematic and rough. A painting is usually more elaborate and more

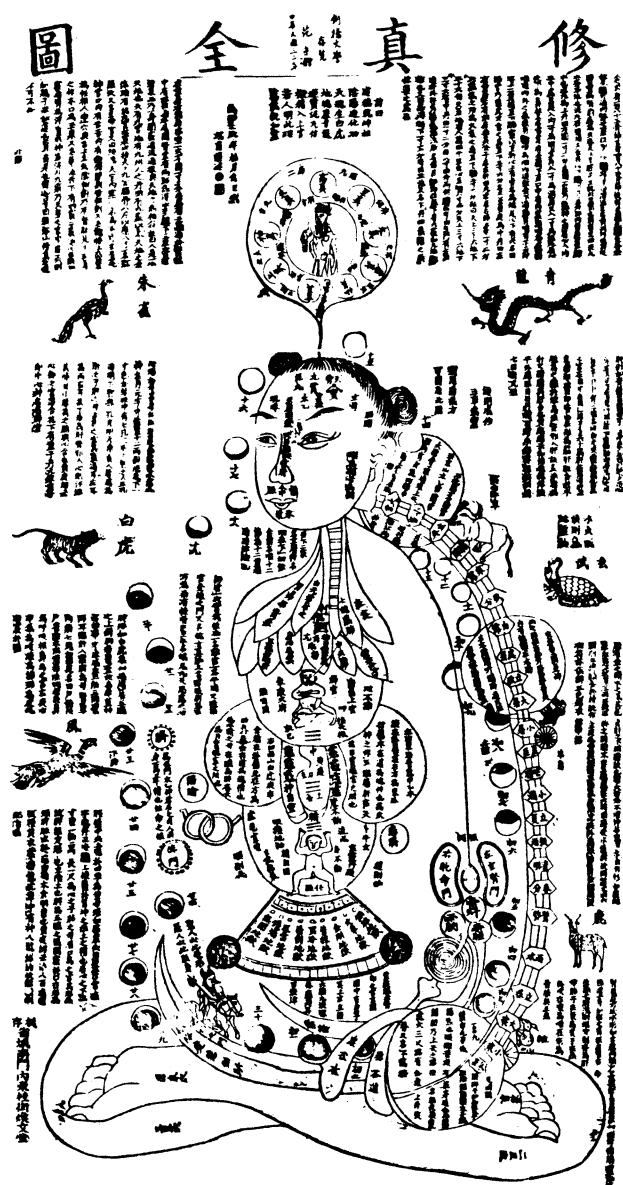


Fig. 5. *Xiuzhen quantu* (Complete Chart of the Regeneration of the Primary Vitalities), wood-block broadsheet, 1920s [from J. Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, V:5, fig. 1588].

successful aesthetically than an engraving. Therefore, I believe that the painting in question might have been derived from the rubbing. Several more captions were added to, and some collations in the text were made in, this later painting.

The Internal Elixir in Daoist Physiological Alchemy

What is the “Dao (Way) of the true Gold Elixir” expounded in Liu Chengyin’s colophon? Within Daoist tradition there is a practice of prolonging life and of hoping to achieve *xian* immortality, a sort of material

immortality. Two major approaches are adopted by the Daoist adept for this aspiration for longevity and immortality. One (*wai dan*, “external elixir”) is outward and material, the obtaining of the elixir of life or the practice of exoteric alchemy, through such tangible substances as mercury, lead, and cinnabar. This process involves the production of chemical elixirs. The other method (*nei dan*, “internal elixir”) is inward and insubstantial; the whole practice lies in the idea of not letting the body follow natural processes of aging. Using one’s body as an alchemical furnace to produce an internal elixir (*nei dan*), one can prevent the deterioration of body and therefore fulfill the aspiration for longevity and immortality. *Dan* is “elixir”; *nei dan* is an internal elixir. *Nei dan* is a procedure for cultivating physiological alchemy, opposed to producing chemical elixirs of longevity (*wai dan*).⁷ For *nei dan* Needham coined the word *enchymoma* from the Greek word *chumos*, “juice.” The prefix of this word indicates that it is within the body, while its second and third syllables can be connected not only with the term *chyme*, still current in modern physiology, but also with one of the possible origins of the very name of chemistry itself.⁸ Though Needham’s coinage is well thought out, I will simply use “internal elixir” in my discussion because students of Chinese culture are more familiar with this term. The *Nei Jing Tu* illustrates how physiological alchemy is cultivated internally. Its anatomical significance is clearer when it is studied together with the *Complete Chart of the Regeneration of the Primary Vitalities* (fig. 5), a woodblock print dating from the 1920s.

Heavenly Vault: The Head

Above the head in figure 2 there are four small characters “*yan shou xian fo*” (“To prolong longevity and to attain *xian* immortality and Buddhahood”)⁹ that do not exist in the painting. This caption states the purpose and dual nature—Daoist and Buddhist—of this diagram.

The head is conceived as a mountainous landscape with rapids. A dot stands prominently above the summit in the center; a caption above reads: “A grain of millet contains the world” (*yili suzong zang shijie*). This sentence originally formed a couplet in a poem by Lü Dongbin (798–after 862), a very important Daoist patriarch who was later included among the Eight Immortals (*xian*). The counterpart of this couplet can be found in the neck region: “[One] cooks the mountains and rivers in a half-*sheng*-volume caul-

dron" (i.e., "in a small cauldron," *bansheng danzhong zhu shanchuan*).¹⁰ Quotations from this important poem by Lǚ Dongbin appear throughout the *Nei Jing Tu*. For the time being, let us be content with reading this poem as a whole and not attempt an interpretation:

The iron ox plows the field where coins of gold
are sown;
The boy engraves on the stone, stringing up coins.
A grain of millet contains the world;
[One] cooks the mountains and rivers in a two-
sheng-volume cauldron.
The white-headed old man's eyebrows hang down
to earth;
The blue-eyed foreign monk supports heaven
with his arms.
If [one] aspires to this mysticism, one will acquire
the [secret of] mysticism;
Beside this mysticism, there is no other [secret of]
mysticism.¹¹

Two captions indicate that this dot is the "Hall of Ball of Mud" (*niwan gong*), or the brain, also the "Prefecture of the Rising Sun" (*shengyang fu*). The Daoist term *niwan* was adapted from the Buddhist concept of "nirvana" in the third or the fourth century A.D.¹² The homophonic permutation of *niwan* and *nirvana* indicates that, by meditation, one enters into a blissful state that resembles the undifferentiated primordial condition, a paradise, or the "unconsciousness" of the uncreated world.¹³ The term "Prefecture of the Rising Sun" is therefore interpretable as the primordial paradise. Presumably this dot is understood also as a rising sun; according to Rousselle's firsthand observation of the *Nei Jing Tu* painting (fig. 4), this dot is colored red.¹⁴ To the best of my knowledge, it may be related to an anecdote from *Zhuang Zi* (the Book of Master Zhuang) of 290 B.C. According to this story, a Woman Crookback has the complexion of a child even though she is very old. When she is asked her secret, she mentions that it lies in being free from one's existence. After one frees oneself from one's own existence, one has a vision of the brightness of dawn illuminated by the rising sun.¹⁵

There are nine peaks on top of the skull (above the highest one is the dot of "ball of mud") given the caption "Nine-Peak Mountain" (*jiufeng shan*). To the right of the Nine-Peak Mountain a large mountain dominating the entire diagram is furnished with the caption "Summit of Big Mountain" (*jufeng ding*). In the valley between these two mountains lies a stone terrace named "Spiritual Terrace of Melancholic Net" (*yulou lingtai*). The head is sometimes referred to by the Daoist adept as Mt. Kunlun¹⁶—a cosmic mountain better known in *fengshui* (geomancy) theory as the ori-

gin of all the mountain dragon arteries (*longmo*).¹⁷ This mountain is also known in Daoist literature as the cosmic paradise where the Mother of the West dwells.¹⁸ Because the number nine in ancient Chinese culture always stands for the maximum,¹⁹ Mt. Kunlun is represented by nine peaks here. The water at the foot of the mountain, hence, may be identified as the Yellow River, of which Mt. Kunlun is also known as the origin.²⁰

However, the "Nine-Peak Mountain" appears to be a combination of Mt. Kunlun and Mt. Meru. The "Nine-Peak Mountain," together with the rushing water below, might as well refer to "Nine Mountains and Eight Seas" in Buddhist terminology as a general reference to this world. In Buddhist cosmology, there are nine mountains in this world and, among them, eight seas. At the center of them is Mt. Meru (Sumeru).²¹ On the other hand, Mt. Kunlun is described in Daoist texts as the central mountain of the five immortal mountains and is located amid eight seas.²² Obviously, Mt. Kunlun is sometimes identified with Mt. Meru in Daoist tradition as an influence from Buddhist cosmology. Moreover, it has been noted that, by the fourth century, Mt. Kunlun is believed to have nine levels, the ninth having an ever smaller and ever narrower form, which is identified with Mt. Meru.²³

"Summit of Big Mountain" is harder to identify. The most famous single summit within Chinese culture should be the summit of the Vulture Peak on which the Buddha preached the Lotus Sutra. In Buddhist cosmology, Mt. Meru is at the center, separated by oceans from the four continents. The Vulture Peak (Gridhrakūṭa) is a physical mountain in this world, the continent of Jambudvīpa.²⁴ In the diagram, the Nine-Peak Mountain that might partially stand for Mt. Meru is separated from the Summit of Big Mountain by water. Therefore, I would like to venture the opinion that this summit might be the Summit of the Vulture Peak. However, this "Big Mountain" can also be interpreted as the Fenglai Mountain, the legendary mountain in the eastern sea occupied by the Immortals in Daoist mythology. In Chinese, Vulture Peak is known as *Lingjiu shan* (Spiritual Vulture Mountain). The *jiu* (vulture) may be omitted and the peak may as well be referred to as *Ling shan* (Spiritual Mountain).²⁵ The Buddha's preaching on the summit of the Vulture Peak is referred to in Chinese as *Lingshan hui* (Gathering at the Spiritual Mountain). On the other hand, *Ling shan* is another appellation of the Fenglai Mountain.²⁶ In any case, this Summit of Big Mountain refers to a place where spiritual communion takes place.

The “Spiritual Terrace of Melancholic Net,” standing between the “Nine-Peak Mountain” and the “Summit of Big Mountain,” might be related to both Daoist and Buddhist terminology. The “Spiritual Terrace” is another Daoist term for the mind in *Zuangzi*,²⁷ and the “Melancholic Net” might have been related to “Indra-jāla, the net of Indra, hanging in Indra’s hall, out of which all things can be produced.”²⁸ As god Indra lives on Mt. Meru, and, as we have seen, in later Daoist texts, Mt. Kunlun is identified with Mt. Meru, the “Spiritual Terrace of Melancholic Net” might be a combination of both Daoist and Buddhist sources to suggest that the mind can produce everything—including the “internal elixir.” This interpretation in fact reflects the Huayan doctrine of *indrajāla*, in which Indra’s jeweled net is a celestial web, each faceted diamond reflects one another, and Buddhas are everywhere. It is a mirage in the mind but also a noumenon in Buddha’s realm.²⁹

Accordingly, this section depicts where spiritual communion takes place in meditation. Together with the “ball of mud” (*niwan*/nirvana) above, this upper skull region epitomizes the blissful primordial paradise before civilization, for which the nostalgic philosophical Daoists yearned. Because brain tissue is wrinkly, Daoists conceive the brain in the shape of a craggy mountain; the resemblance to the wrinkly shape of brain tissue is particularly clear in the internal structure of the “Summit of Big Mountain.”

In the area of the forehead below the Nine-Peak Mountain sits an old man in yoga posture by a riverbank. The caption above this figure reads: “The white-headed old man’s eyebrows hang down to earth” (*Baitou laozǐ mei chuidi*). Rousselle took *laozǐ* literally as the historical Laozi of the fourth century B.C., represented here as an embodiment of the teaching of Daoism.³⁰ Kristofer Schipper followed this identification and elaborated on the cosmic body of the historical Laozi.³¹ Referring to the classic *Xiaodao Lun* (On Laughing at the Dao), he related Laozi’s mythic birth from the primordial chaos (*hun tun*) and expounded the mythic transformation of Laozi’s body into the world, the sun, the moon, and so forth. The text of the *Xiaodao Lun* reads: “Lao-tzu [Laozi] transformed his body. His left eye became the sun, his right eye the moon, his head the K’un-lun [Kunlun] mountain, his beard the planets and the heavenly mansions . . .”³² Accordingly, the body represented in the *Nei Jing Tu* is not only the physical and mythical body but also the social body. Plausible though this interpretation is, it focuses on the white-headed old man only, and the interpretation would be justified only if the old man

were isolated from the rest of the rubbing.³³

For me, the characters *laozǐ* refer to the historical Laozi only secondarily. The Daoist adept conceives the human body as a microcosm in which many archei (*shen*)³⁴ dwell, each corresponding to an organ or a part of the body. It is believed that Master Niwan, alias the Immortal Old Man of the Southern Pole-star, is the eighth archeus of the brain.³⁵ An egg-shaped protrusion of the forehead is an iconographic attribute associated with the Old Man of the Southern Pole-star. It has been suggested that such a shape suggests a return to the undifferentiated primordial cosmos (*hun tun*):

As in the tales of the *hsien* [*xian*] immortals who return to paradise by magically leaping inside a hollow gourd, the Taoist [Daoist] as a mystic “gourd master,” “pumpkin head,” or “egghead” reassembles the primordial body of man. Indeed, it is tempting to speculate that the exaggerated head and belly iconography of the typical Taoist [Daoist] saint is to some extent a remembrance, or a “re-membering,” of this kind of archaic symbolism.³⁶

Below the Old Man of the Southern Pole-star stands a monk raising his arms. The caption to his left reads: “The blue-eyed foreign monk supports heaven with his arms” (*biyan huseng shou tuotian*). The old man, according to Rousselle, is Laozi, and the blue-eyed foreign monk, Bodhidharma (d. ca. A.D. 475). “Blue eyes” are opposed to “white eyebrows.” Needham accepted both the identifications.³⁷ It is true that in Chan Buddhist literature the foreign monk alone, or sometimes with the prefix “blue eyes,” is often used as an alternative for Bodhidharma.³⁸ One may raise four questions about this identification, however. First, why did the artist choose to use Bodhidharma instead of an image of Buddha that better symbolizes Buddhism? Second, if this monk is indeed Bodhidharma, why he is not portrayed in the customary way as a thickly bearded Indian monk? Third, one wonders why Bodhidharma is located immediately below the Immortal Old Man of the Southern Pole-star. Finally, why is this monk, whoever he is, supporting heaven with his arms? Although the first question can be readily answered by the relevant techniques of meditation taught by later patriarchs, the others remain challenging.

Rousselle indeed noticed that this monk is rather young or even childish. He explained away this phenomenon by first pointing out that “the caption makes the reference to him [Bodhidharma] possible,” and by suggesting that the young appearance is due to Bodhidharma’s spiritual attainment. In contrast, the

Old Man believed to be Laozi appears very old because he has acquired “eternal wisdom.”³⁹ He subsequently pointed out that Bodhidharma, facing the cliff in meditation, was able to open his “heavenly eye” (*tianyan*) in his forehead and that “anatomically, the ‘blue-eyed foreign monk supporting heaven’ means the transformed eye-socket and the cross-beam arcs of the brain capsule.”⁴⁰ Bodhidharma appears to be a plausible identification, but the aforementioned questions still cannot be fully answered with this identification. My alternative will be given at the very end of this section, after a thorough discussion of the head area. For the time being, I will simply refer to this figure as the “blue-eyed foreign monk.” At any rate, the identification of the “blue-eyed foreign monk” as Bodhidharma does not fully explain his iconographic significance, which has to be complemented by the Old Man above.

The iconographic significance and implication of the Old Man and the foreign monk can be further approached from a different perspective, that of the Daoist terminology of physiological alchemy. In Daoist literature, “blue-eyed foreign monk” is one of the synonyms of mercury, and “white-headed old man” refers to lead.⁴¹ Mercury and lead are two elements important in preparing the elixir of life (*wan dan*), but the formation of the amalgam of mercury and lead is also a dominant concept in cultivating internal elixir. The mixture of mercury and lead in Daoist terminology can be best elucidated by a tenth-century text attributed to Dong Zhenzi, *Xiuzhen liyan caotu* (Transmitted Diagrams Illustrating the Tried and Tested Method of Regenerating the Primary Vitalities [physiological alchemy]). It first says that lead has the quality of true Yang, and mercury that of true Yin. Lead symbolizes the macro-microcosmic sun’s redness, while mercury the macro-microcosmic moon’s whiteness. When the ninefold regeneration of the *qi* is completed, the lead, the mercury, and the *shen* (mentality) are all present, and the internal elixir is attained. The interaction between lead and mercury in physiological alchemy is further explained:

True lead originates from fire and is the ancestor of the *ching* [*jing*; seminality]. True mercury likes to fly up (i.e. sublime or distil), yet abides within the red blood. The semen of a man and the blood of a woman mutually embrace (and intermingle); the blood gives rise to the (red) flesh, and the semen produces the (white) bones. All these happenings arise from good match-making and marriages, and happiness in the bearing of children results.

What is (true) mercury? It is the effulgence of the infinite origin, and the ancestor of the myriad things. The ancestor of mercury is the red dragon

(*chhih lung* [*chi long*]). The red dragon is cinnabar (*tan sha* [*dan sha*]), but this is not common cinnabar; it is the Flowing Fluid of the Great Mystery (*thai hsüan liu i* [*taixuan liuyi*]), which the primary *chhi* [*qi*] has prepared during a period of 2160 years. And it is called the Vital Enchymoma [internal elixir] of Emptiness and Nothingness (*hsü wu chen tan* [*xuwu zhendan*]).⁴²

This text construes in a rather mysterious, yet explicit, way the interaction between mercury and lead and the formation of the internal elixir. The circulation of the *qi* (vital energy) and the formation of the internal elixir are related to astronomy governed by the hexagrams. Not only is the body conceived as macro-microcosmic but the whole process also involves the concept of making one’s body into an alchemical furnace.

If the “blue-eyed foreign monk” stands for mercury and the “white-headed old man” for lead in physiological alchemy, since mercury ascends and sublimes while lead descends in the reaction process between mercury and lead, the lower position of the “blue-eyed foreign monk” is justified. The eyebrow of the Immortal Old Man of the Southern Pole-star hanging down to the earth stands for the descent of lead; the monk’s arms reaching out to heaven are emblematic of the ascent of mercury. The monk assumes double significance: not only as a blue-eyed foreign monk, but also as a symbol of mercury.

Now we can turn to the two rather prominent dots in the central head region. We have seen from the aforementioned quotation how lead (true Yang) symbolizes the sun’s redness, and how mercury (true Yin) stands for the moon’s whiteness. In the Daoist concept of microcosmic archei, the left eye is ruled by the archeus of the sun, and the right eye, the archeus of the moon.⁴³ The interaction between lead and mercury is reiterated by the dots symbolizing the sun and moon. The sun and moon revolve in the sky, and the sky is usually referred to as a “vault” (*qiong long*) in classical Chinese literature. The *Huai’nan zi* (The Book of the Prince of Huai’nan: Compendium of Natural Philosophy) of ca. 120 B.C. equates the human body with the cosmological structure of the world: “The head is round, the shape of heaven, and the feet are square, the shape of earth.”⁴⁴ Without venturing into detailed interpretation, one can easily see the analogy between the round head and the heavenly vault and comprehend how the symbolic sun (lead) and moon (mercury) revolve in the head.⁴⁵

The left profile of the face is silhouetted by two rainbow-like bands meeting in the center. The upper one is *du mo*, the dorsal median tract; the lower one is *ren mo*, the ventral median tract. In Chinese medical

physiology *du mo* and *ren mo* exist apart from the twelve main vessels; they are two of the eight auxiliary tracts or routes of circulation of the *qi*. They cannot be understood in an anatomical sense. *Du mo*, the dorsal median tract, circuits upwards from the coccyx, along the spinal column, then the rear axis of the skull, descends along the front axis of the skull, and ends at the junction above the teeth of the upper jaw. *Ren mo*, the ventral median tract, circuits along the front axis of the torso from the perineum through the point below the teeth of the lower jaw. In the *Nei Jing Tu* the circulations of these two major conduits of the *qi* are portrayed as confined to the head. The *du mo* comes down over the top of the head as far as the junction above the teeth of the upper jaw. Originating from a pool of *qi*, the *ren mo* goes up to its last point on the chin. We have seen that the head is conceived as the microcosmic heavenly vault. These two *mo* therefore not only run through the head, the *qi* circulates through the two *mo* inside the entire microcosm. Accordingly, the head is also conceived as the whole body. In composing the head the artist ingeniously used a variety of motifs and created an interchangeable configuration of the head, the torso, and a microcosm.

The pool of *qi* is rectangular in shape, with two *que*-like⁴⁶ gateways in the front, through which the *ren mo* passes. Above this pool a cascade pours down from a precipice. This cascade originates from a hollow dot, around which two captions read: “larynx” or “thorax” (*shiyān*) and “the origin of the method of ascendance” (*shengfa zhiyuan*)—or “the origin of ascending purity” (*shengqing zhiyuan*), as given in the painting.

In the quest for immortality, several important techniques were adapted by the Daoist adept. An exceptionally important role was played by preserving certain secretions, such as saliva and semen. The swallowing of saliva (Yin; mercury) and the moderation of the dispersals of semen (Yang; lead) was believed to preserve the *qi*, which forms the essential ingredients for the internal elixir.⁴⁷ Those who have some experience with Daoist physiological alchemy know that rolling up the tongue against the upper jaw can produce saliva. In the *Bao Pu Zi* by Ke Hong, ca. A.D. 300, saliva is mentioned as “jade juice” (*yu yì*); through proper control, it can be conducted to the “Golden Pool” (*jīn chí*).⁴⁸ The pool of *qi* is thus the “Golden Pool” and is depicted near the thorax. Because of the importance of swallowing the saliva, this juncture is named the “origin of ascendance.”

Below the thorax a twelve-storied pagoda is given the caption: “The Secret Methods are stored in the twelve-storied pagoda” (*shì'ér loutai cāng mǐjue*). It is

the trachea.⁴⁹ The “twelve-storied pagoda,” a Daoist term, originates from the quasi-anatomic shape of the trachea: “Because there are twelve rings overlapping one another in the trachea.”⁵⁰ To its right is inscribed: “Hall of Sweet Spring and Cold Peaks” (*gānquān lěngfēng gōng*). Because saliva is swallowed through the trachea, this part of the rubbing is called the Hall of Sweet Spring and Cold Peaks. Nearby, below the pagoda, is another seven-character sentence: “*wúshì jīngnèi yīn xuānguāng*” (literally, “the mystic secrets are hidden in fifty localities”). These two seven-character sentences originate from another poem by Lǚ Dongbin.⁵¹ The latter part of this stanza reads differently in the poem: “Within the five thousand words [i.e., *Lao Zi* or *Dao de Jing*] the secrets are hidden.” Obviously, the “fifty localities” is a corruption of “five thousand words.” It is then clear that Lǚ Dongbin’s poem refers to the practice of physiological alchemy, which is, in turn, associated with *Lao Zi*, the ultimate source of Daoism.

To the left of the mountain, there are two short inscriptions with the final lines of Lǚ Dongbin’s poem. One reads: “If [one] aspires to this mysticism,⁵² one will acquire the [secret of] mysticism” (*ruo xiāng cǐ xuān xuān huì de*). The other reads: “Beside this mysticism, there is no other [secret of] mysticism” (*cǐ xuān zhī wài gēng wú xuān*).⁵³ These two “mysterious” lines only reiterate the importance of the practice of physiological alchemy.

To the left of the *ren mo*, two couplets further allow complex interpretations with respect to the configuration and captions in the head region. The couplet on the right reads: “*Fa Zang* says: ‘The blue eyes bring about purification [i.e., peace] to the four large seas [i.e., the world], while the white light spreads to [Mt.] Sumeru indirectly.’” The one on the left reads: “*Ci Shi* says: ‘Between the eyebrows [from the ǔrǎn] white bright light often emanates, which can emancipate the creatures from the suffering of ceaseless reincarnation.’” These two couplets are also found in the painting supplied by Rousselle, though the wording is slightly different.

Rousselle took *Fa Zang* as Dharmagupta,⁵⁴ but Dharmagupta’s Chinese name was Fami; he arrived in China during the Sui Dynasty (605–618). If we follow Rousselle’s trend of thought and take “*Fa Zang*” as a person’s name, then it may be Fazang (643–712), sinicized scion of a Sogdian family of Chang’an in the Tang; he was the third patriarch of the Huayan School, who systematized the Huayan teaching. The quoted lines in the *Nei Jing Tu*, nevertheless, cannot be found in the eleven essays by Fazang collected in

the *Tripitaka* (*Dazang jing*).⁵⁵ Accordingly, I tend to abandon the interpretation as a person's name. There are other possibilities for *Fa Zang* in Chinese Buddhist usages; among them, *Fa Zang* is the appellation for Amitābha before he attains Buddhahood.⁵⁶ Clearly, what Amitābha said before attaining Buddhahood is not so important. In another usage, *Fa Zang* is a general reference to the Buddha's teaching, hence, a synonym of Buddhist sutras.⁵⁷

The captions in question may have been derived mainly from the *Lotus Sutra* (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*). After Buddha's sermon of a Mahāyāna sutra, *Anantanirdeśa* (The Immeasurable Doctrine), he "sent forth from the curl of white hair between his eyebrows that illuminated eighteen thousand worlds to the east, omitting none of them, reaching downward as far as the Avici [the lowest] hell and upward as far as the Akaniṣṭha [highest] gods. . ."⁵⁸ "[How can] the Superior [i.e., the Buddha] emanate white light from the [ūrṇā] between the eyebrows and illuminate the 18,000 worlds?" Maitreya (*Ci Shi*) asked. Mañjuśrī answered by saying: "Buddha's light is as shining as the rays of the sun and the moon."⁵⁹ *Ci Shi* ("he who is merciful") is an appellation for Maitreya,⁶⁰ as pointed out by Rousselle,⁶¹ and fits into the context of the *Lotus Sutra*. The statement in the couplet that "the white light spreads to [Mt.] Sumeru indirectly" might have been derived from the *Amitāyurdhyāna Sūtra* (*Foshuo guan wuliang shoufo jing*, Sutra of the Buddha of Unlimited Longevity Spoken by Buddha):

At the time, the Superior [i.e., Buddha] emanated white light from [the ūrṇā] between the eyebrows. The golden light illuminates the infinite worlds of the ten directions. When [the golden light] returned to the top of Buddha's head, it turned into a golden terrace not unlike Mt. Sumeru, in which the Bodhisattvas of the ten directions as well as pure and marvelous beings all appear.⁶²

Accordingly, the captions in question mean that the Buddha's teaching says so-and-so and that Maitreya's question addresses so-and-so.

Taking into account the quotations from the *Lotus Sutra* and, to a minor extent, the *Amitāyurdhyāna Sūtra*, in the *Nei Jing Tu* the foreign monk must be an image of Maitreya. What is more than a coincidence is that, with the raised arms, the Maitreya is closely identified with the iconography of the Laughing Buddha, *Mile fo*, the later Chinese metamorphosis of Maitreya.⁶³ If my interpretation is correct, the young countenance of the monk can be justified: *Mile fo* is always portrayed as having a beardless face, and, in most cases, raising his arms. Rousselle's explanation of the young appearance

as an effect of Bodhidharma's attainment in enlightenment is too extraordinary to accept, since there is not a single portrait of Bodhidharma without his typical thick beard. Moreover, a Bodhidharma with raised arms is unknown among the portraits available to us. What the artist intends to portray is the blue-eyed *Mile fo* bringing peace to the world, as the quotation says.

Although I have identified the white-headed old man both as a symbol of lead in Daoist physiological alchemy and as the Old Man of the Southern Pole-star, the eighth archeus of the brain, Rousselle's identification of him as the historical Laozi does bring out his broader significance. Daoists believed that Laozi went to India. When Buddhism was introduced into China there was a strong resistance from the Daoists. As early as A.D. 166, Xiang Kai presented a memorial mentioning that after Laozi disappeared beyond the western passes, he went to India, where he converted the barbarians and became the Buddha. In the early fourth century this Daoist contention was solidified in a book entitled *Huahu Jing* (Sutra on the Conversion of the Barbarians [by Laozi]).⁶⁴ Accordingly, the couplets can also be read from a Daoist perspective. The Buddha's teaching (*fa zang*) became Laozi's teaching in disguise. Even if the blue-eyed *Mile fo* brought peace to the world, it was Laozi who spread the white light to Mt. Sumeru. The two couplets require a complex reading—not only as quotations from Buddhist sutras, but also as a proclamation of Laozi's preeminent role in the Buddha's teaching.

To conclude, the "white-headed old man" is not merely the historical Laozi; he may also be the Immortal Old Man of the Southern Pole-star as an archeus of the brain, as well as a symbol of the element lead. The "blue-eyed foreign monk" is not Bodhidharma, as claimed by Rousselle; he should be a mixture of *Mile fo* and a symbol of the element mercury. The Buddha's (and hence Laozi's) teaching takes place not far away but within the realm of the mind, embodied in the amalgamated Mt. Kunlun and Mt. Meru (Sumeru). Through meditation, the adept of physiological alchemy reaches a state of blissful primordial paradise, or nirvana, in his brain (the Hall of Ball of Mud). Not only did Daoist practices of physiological alchemy appropriate Buddhist teaching, but Buddhist teaching supported Daoist physiological alchemy. A syncretic amalgam of Daoism and Buddhism is illustrated in the head area, which is summarized by the inclusive caption: "To prolong longevity and to attain *xian* immortality and Buddhahood."

The Macro-Microcosmic Body: The Torso

In the rubbing, water is rushing down inside the head below the Nine-Peak Mountain. Here, water stands for Divine Water of Primordial Unity (*taiyi shenshui*). The Daoist adept believes that when the divine water (*qi* of Yin) descends from the head, and fire (*qi* of Yang) ascends from below in the abdomen (flames, as seen below in the diagram), a perfected equalization will be attained.⁶⁵ Because of such perfected Yin/Yang equalization, internal elixir is formed.

The spinal column, known as “marrow path” in physiological alchemy, is regarded as the main conduit for the circulation of *qi*. Although the spinal column appears to be anatomically depicted (i.e., the horizontal zigzag lines seem to stand for the vertebrae), it is really shown as a mountain path flanked by crags. There is a metamorphosis from the conduit of *qi* to the mountain path. There are three gates or bottlenecks for the circulation of *qi* along the spinal column.⁶⁶ The upper gate is generally called *yujing shan* (jade capital mountain) but is in the rubbing named *yuzheng shangguan* (upper-pass of jade-reality). This pass is also captioned “the cavity of the spiritual peak” (*lingfeng zhixue*). The central pass is *jia ji* (vertebral strait gate), indicated in the painting but not in the rubbing. The lowest pass is *wei lü*, near the coccyx. These three gates are often simply addressed as “upper gate,” “middle gate,” and “lower gate.” Of particular iconographic interest is the lower pass; the term *wei lü* is derived from a rock meaning “the eye of the sea,” where all the waters of the ocean converge. *Wei lü* may have a cosmological significance, as the “world cloaca” in the Eastern Ocean.⁶⁷

The essential principle in physiological alchemy is to reverse the natural sequence and thus achieve rejuvenation.⁶⁸ Accordingly, we see at the bottom of the spinal column (fig. 3) a pool of divine water being sent upward by the treadmill water-raising machine, Mysterious Yin-Yang Treadmill (*yin yang xuan tache*). Yin and Yang are clearly indicated by a girl and a boy manipulating this machine. Below the *wei lü* gate a line reads: “The *kan* water flows in reverse” (*kanshui niliu*). The Divine Water of Primordial Unity derives from the *kan* trigram (☵), since the *kan* trigram stands for the image of water.⁶⁹ Because the Water is the *jing* (seminal essence) and *qi* of the primary vitality, the solid line is given within the *kan* trigram.⁷⁰ The reverse process is summed up by the poem inscribed beside the Mysterious Yin-Yang Treadmill:

Repeatedly, continuously, [the treadmill is]
peddled in cycle;
When the machine turns, the water flows
eastward.

Deep water of ten thousand feet should [be
emptied to] expose the bottom;
[Then] a sweet spring bubbles up from the
summit of Southern Mountain.

The Southern Mountain, in my opinion, should be the mountain range of the same name in the south of Xinjiang, which is regarded as a major branch of Mt. Kunlun. As we have seen, the head is also referred to as Mt. Kunlun; the Southern Mountain is only another appellation of the head. This poem explains that when the Divine Water of Primordial Unity is forced to flow in reverse, a sweet spring (saliva) will appear in the head. A cycle of the circulation of the *qi* is hence completed.

Two caldrons with flames rushing up are near the lowest gate. Above the caldrons are four diagrams of the Supreme Ultimate (*tai ji*) arrayed to the cardinal directions and connected into a lozenge. To the right of them there are three characters meaning “due field of internal elixir” (*zheng dan tian*). “*Dan*” means “internal elixir” or “vital heat,” and “*tian*” means “field” or “region.” *Dan tian* are considered the areas from which the *qi* sets out on its circulatory path through the body and to which it returns; they are also the regions where internal elixir is produced. There are three *dan tian* in physiological alchemy—the upper one in the head, the middle one in the thorax, and the lower one in the abdomen.⁷¹ The upper *dan tian* is located “in the space between the eyebrows.” “One inch behind this is the cosmic palace (*ming tang*), two inches behind it is the arcane chamber (*dong fang*), and three inches behind it is the upper *dan tian*.”⁷² The middle *dan tian* is “in the crimson palace (*jiang gong*) or the golden gateway (*jìn que*) below the heart.”⁷³ The lower *dan tian* is located “two and four-tenths of an inch below the navel.”⁷⁴ Because life-giving warmth is radiated from the neighborhood of the lower *dan tian*,⁷⁵ curved lines are depicted as emancipating heat from the Supreme Ultimate—emblems that represent, together with the “Central Earth” at the center, the five elements and the four cardinal directions.

At the level of the neck we read “[One] cooks the mountains and waters in a half-*sheng*-volume caldron” and “Cavity of two reins or kidneys” (*ershenfu zhi xue*). The two reins in classic medical literature are *nei shen* (the kidneys) and *wai shen* (the testes). Semen and blood are regarded as generated from the reins, which can be understood as the urino-genital system.⁷⁶ The flame is Yang, while the seminal fluid is Ying.

Flames at this point symbolize the Yang within the Yin of the seminal fluid and its *qi*. These two captions should not belong to the neighborhood of the neck, however. They are correctly found much lower in the painting (fig. 4), slightly above the diagrams of the four Supreme Ultimate of the “due field of internal elixir” and at the level of the weaving woman. Clearly the two captions are erroneously placed near the neck in the rubbing.

In the region approximately at the heart, we see a boy standing inside a ring of waves representing the vital *qi*. This boy is the Herdboy Constellation (Altair), as indicated by the caption “Constellation of the Herdboy” (*niulang qiaoxing*). This ring stands for the “middle field of internal elixir” (*zhong dan tian*). Inside the ring of the vital *qi* is a spiral made of hollow dots which are clearly depicted as coins in the painting. Two two-character captions can be seen along this spiral. One is the “Field of the *ken* trigram” (*ken tian*); the other, “This Field” (*zhe tian*). The *ken* (☶) here should not be understood in the context of the symbolic correlation of the eight trigrams, as the direction of northeast. We must here refer to a chart specially formulated by Peng Xiao in A.D. 947 to elucidate internal elixir theory, which is entitled “*Ming Jing tu*” (Bright Mirror of Physiological Alchemy).⁷⁷ In this chart Metal was distributed both to *qian* (☰) and *dui* (☱), Water both to *kan* (☵) and *zhen* (☳), Earth both to *ken* (☶) and *kun* (☷), Fire to *li* (☲), and Wood to *sun* (☴). Moreover, the Herdboy Constellation is correlated with the *ken* trigram. With such a correlation the Herdboy is depicted in the *Nei Jing Tu* as standing in the “Field of the *ken* trigram.” The Herdboy is depicted in the rubbing as holding a constellation string in the “ball-and-link” convention.⁷⁸ To the left is a caption, “the boy engraves on the stone, stringing up coins” (*keshi ertong baguan chuan*). Similarly yet differently, the boy is illustrated in the painting as literally holding a string of coins. This is an interesting conflation of the stars and coins.

In the abdomen region is a bank growing with five trees with a caption “the iron ox plows the field where coins of gold are sown.” The ox is represented below. According to Needham, the iron ox in Buddhism is a symbol of evil desire; the plowing signifies the efforts needed to control the evil desire. Needham gives a very interesting interpretation:

This [effort of controlling the evil desire] parallels the emphasis placed both in East and West upon the high moral character required of alchemists. Intrinsically the ox is the motive power for the circulation of *chhi* [*qi*] and *i* [*yi*] in the body which permits the Yin tiger to drink from



Fig. 6. Illustration of the internal elixir as a rejuvenated being [from *Taiyi jinhua zongzhi* (Principles of the Inner Radiance of the Supreme Unity), 1668, p. 41].

the pool of ‘true’ mercury and to approach the Yang dragon in the fiery clouds. Then the herdboy, rejoicing, smiles with pleasure, and the enchymoma [internal elixir] of immortality is achieved.⁷⁹

Nevertheless, I cannot find such an allusion in any Buddhist text. At best, “iron ox” is used in Chan Buddhism as a metaphor of immobility and that of a fact about which no doubt can be raised.⁸⁰ I would, therefore, tend to look at the plowing scene simply as a metaphor of steadfast effort in the cultivating of physiological alchemy. In addition, the iron ox here must not be confused with the ox associated with the Herdboy. It is particularly so if the farmer is taken into account—the ox is not attended by the Herdboy.

Even so, the boy standing in the field of the *ken* trigram symbolizes not only an astronomical body but also the crystallization of the product of physiological alchemy—the internal elixir—as a fully rejuvenated being. To help illustrate this point, I include a drawing from the *Taiyi jinhua zongzhi* (Principles of the Inner Radiance of the Supreme Unity) (fig. 6). This drawing is well known in the West since it is reproduced in the *Secret of the Golden Flower*.⁸¹ A baby boy is shown appearing from the abdomen as a rejuvenated being, the substantial product of physiological alchemy. Thus, as the rejuvenated boy strings together the coins, he harvests and puts together the coins sown by the iron ox—an allusion to the attainment of the in-

ternal elixir of immortality.

Between the heart and lower abdomen regions a girl is seen by a spinning wheel. She is the Weaving Girl Constellation (Vega), counterpart of the Herdboy Constellation in Chinese legend.⁸² In physiological alchemy she is named the Pretty Girl (*cha nü*) as a symbol of the element Fire (*li* trigram; true Yang) emanating from the reins.⁸³ As we have seen in the chart of “Bright Mirror of Physiological Alchemy,” the Herdboy Constellation is correlated with the *ken* hexagram. But the Herdboy here should not be understood as merely symbolizing the element Earth normally associated with the *ken* trigram. In this context the Herdboy also symbolizes the element Water (true Yin). An examination of the Herdboy together with the Weaving Girl indicates that when Fire and Water meet and are harmonized, the internal elixir is formed and one can be revitalized. The boy inside the circle of *qi* therefore assumes a triple status, symbolizing the Herdboy Constellation, the crystallization of the internal elixir, and Water nourishing the Earth in the field of the *ken* trigram, that is, in the “due field of internal elixir” (*zheng dan tian*).

The abdomen houses the six major viscera related to the formation of internal elixir. Each of the six viscera is assigned a specific archeus (*shen*) and is indicated only by name and cognomen. One reads to the right of the heart region: “The archeus of the heart is [called] Essence of Internal Elixir (*dan yuan*), alias Keeper of Spirit (*shou ling*).”⁸⁴ To the left, one reads three captions: “The archeus of the gall-bladder is [called] Dragon Brightness (*long yao*), alias Majesty Illumination (*wei ming*);” “The archeus of the lung is [called] White Splendor (*hua hao*), alias Attainment of Immateriality (*xu cheng*);” and “The archeus of the liver is [called] Dragon Smoke (*long yan*), alias Containing Brightness (*han ming*).” Above the Weaving Girl one reads two captions: “The archeus of the reins is [called] Mysterious Obscurity (*xuan ming*), alias Conception of Baby (*yu ying*)” and “The archeus of the spleen is [called] Always There (*chang zai*), alias Sojourn of the Soul (*hun ting*).”⁸⁵ Again, Needham gives an explicit interpretation of the functions of the archei of the viscera in physiological alchemy:

Once some of the enchymoma [internal elixir] has been formed the adept can use its Chen (Yang) *chhi* [true Yang *qi*] to transmute the *chhi* [*qi*] of the viscera into *shen* [the archei] with all their ascensory power. Meeting in the brain with the *yuan chhi* [i.e., the primordial *qi*], as if in audience with the emperor, they will descend again and manufacture more of the reverted anablastemic enchymoma [internal elixir] (*huan tan*) [*huan dan*]. Ordinarily the visceral *chhi* [*qi*]

go round perpetually in their circuit, but in this case each one is converted into a *shen* [archeus], and so shunted upwards out of the cycle to the brain—liberated, ‘as the sparks fly upwards’, as it were—to that ouranic region, whence, fortified by the *shen shui* [divine water], they will return to accomplish their mission in the spleen or the central region of vital heat.⁸⁶

This interpretation brings our attention to the notion of the greater and a lesser circulation of the *qi*. The lesser circulation involves mainly the viscera. The reins are symbolized by the Weaving Girl, and the true Yang *qi* is sent by her spinning-wheel to the throat and trachea (note a ribbon-like band of *qi* going up from the spinning-wheel). The Divine Water is added to the *qi* at the trachea before it is sent down to the central region of vital heat. This then makes the “conjunction of heart and reins” (*ji ji*). It is believed that when the semen is transmitted upwards from the reins and the saliva is showered down from the brain and heart, they meet at the Yellow Court (*huang ting*; the region of the heart) and form, with other constituents, the internal elixir.⁸⁷

The greater circulation involves the spinal column and the brain. We have seen how the treadmill water-raising machine sends up the *jing qi* (seminal essence). The seminal essence is sent up through the three gates. Then it joins the Divine Water and descends through the face, down to the Yellow Courts where the internal elixir is symbolized by a glory emanating from a pack of the four diagrams of the Supreme Ultimate (*tai ji*). The nearby ox plowing the field where coins of gold are sown further refers to the “golden” internal elixir of immortality.⁸⁸

To the left of the thorax region a poem sums up the practice of Daoist physiological alchemy:

I exclusively cultivate my own field, in which
grows a spiritual sprout that will live to ten
thousand years.

The flowers are like gold in color, and the fruits
are similar to round balls in jade.

The cultivation relies on the earth of the Central
Palace [i.e., Yellow Court], yet the irrigation
must depend upon the spring from upper val-
leys.

Once the practice attains the Great Way (*dao*),
one would become a *xian* immortal blissfully
wandering about on earth or on the immortal
isles in the sea.⁸⁹

Of particular interest is the usage of the “field” in this context. Although the “field” here clearly refers to the “field of internal elixir” (*dan tian*), the term is also adopted from Buddhist terminology “*fu tian*” (*punya-ksetra*, or “field of merit”).⁹⁰

To the left of the abdomen region is a poem that consists exclusively of the following caption in the diagram:

The iron ox plows the field where coins of gold are sown;

The boy engraves on the stone, stringing up coins.

A grain of millet contains the world;

[One] cooks the mountains and rivers in a half-*sheng*-volume cauldron.

The white-headed old man's eyebrows hang down to earth;

The blue-eyed foreign monk supports heaven with his arms.

If [one] aspires to this mysticism, one will acquire the [secret of] mysticism;

Beside this mysticism, there is no other [secret of] mysticism.

Conclusion

Liu Chengyin mentioned that when he looked at the *Nei Jing Tu* he experienced "waxing and waning as well as the ebb and flow of the cosmos." Without the halo and mandala seen in the painting, the diagram in the rubbing seems to lose this anthropomorphic shape. Moreover, the diagram is couched in terms of a landscape painting consisting of ponds, banks, mountain paths, passes, and peaks in which people are active. The diagram is more an equation of microcosm to macrocosm than a macrocosm symbolized by a landscape. This paper has discussed how the macro-microcosmic configuration is rendered. Most motifs in this diagram also possess dual, or even triple, iconographic significance, assuming both material and conceptual existence, simultaneously representative, allegorical, and symbolic. Such can be said of the old man, foreign monk, ox, boy, and weaving girl.⁹¹

The ancient Chinese are known for pragmatic thought—a thinking process de-emphasizing the abstract aspect of thought, assuming more a figurative, and hence substantial, character. Pragmatism or even utilitarianism is the essence of Chinese philosophy.⁹² It is particularly so with the Daoist philosophers. With their emphasis on Nature, they passed from the purely observational to experimental in their philosophy.⁹³ Due to this pragmatic thought, we have at our disposal an illustrative diagram essentially substantial in character. It is owing to such substantialism that the internal texture and circulation of the human body are portrayed as a macro-microcosmic landscape. Indeed, substantialism provides the fundamental concept of

the material *xian*-immortality here on this earth, or, even if etherealized, in the otherworldly Isles of Immortality. The cultivation of the elixir for life, the "external elixir," is undoubtedly substantial, as is the formation of the internal elixir.

This Daoist diagram contains Buddhist concepts and phrases which reveal a syncretic fusion with Buddhism. It is well known that Buddhism borrowed heavily from Daoism in its early introduction to China, especially in matters of vocabulary. Even in the mature epoch of Chinese Buddhism, Daoist influence on imported Indian ideas is also discernible, as in the "totalism" of the Huayan School.⁹⁴ On the other hand, Buddhism also contributed a new scope, variety, and imagination to Daoism. It is noted that Daoists not only borrowed but also plagiarized Buddhist sutras from the fifth century on.⁹⁵ As a matter of fact, since Wei-Jin times (220–420), Buddhism, Confucianism, and Daoism have been called the Three Teachings. The syncretic interflow of the ideas of the Three Teachings was particularly strong in the Yuan (1271–1368).⁹⁶ The idea of the Three Teachings continued in the late Qing Dynasty when the Walters rubbing was made. The most representative figure in this syncreticism was Liao Ping (1852–1932), who proposed, "The Buddha was a product of Taoism [Daoism], being the first to undergo the process of the conversion of the barbarians. . ."⁹⁷ Such an interpretation, of course, is open to objection, yet it furnishes us with a historical background of the content of the rubbing, on which some of my interpretations are based.

Yoga and physiological alchemy are two parallel phenomena. Some, such as Needham, argue that Chinese Daoism might have influenced India in the development of later forms of yoga associated with Tantrism (fourth through sixth centuries) and Hāthayoga (ninth through thirteenth centuries).⁹⁸ Even without elaborating on the chronological sequence of Chinese physiological alchemy and Indian yoga, it is fully possible for a Daoist diagram of physiological alchemy to encompass yoga to some extent. Moreover, it has been noted that the Chan emphasis on meditation in order to experience communion with the Dharmakāya (reality body) is close to the Daoist method of acquiring the *Dao*.⁹⁹ Although Rousselle's previous study emphasizes this aspect too heavily, from the Chan point of view, as Buddhahood may be found in everyone and everything, it might well be found in Daoist physiological alchemy. On the other hand, if one follows the Daoist approach in taking Laozi as the predecessor of the Buddha, then the

Dao resides even in Buddhism, and the Buddhist elements in the rubbing are mainly a manifestation of the omnipotence of Daoism. Either perspective indicates a syncreticism particular to Chinese thought, which is well stated in the dual purpose of the diagram—"To prolong longevity and to attain immortality and Buddhahood." It is therefore not without significance that, in the rubbing, while the torso section is exclusively Daoist, the head area is full of symbols embodying both Daoist and Buddhist concepts.

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Notes

1. E. Rousselle, "Ne Ging Tu, 'Die Tafel des inneren Gewebes', ein Taoistisches Meditationsbild mit Beschriftung," *Sinica*, 8 (1933), 207–216.
2. J. Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China* (Cambridge, 1983), V: 5, 114–116. The *Nei Jing Tu* rubbing appears as fig. 1587, p. 115. I owe much to the erudite study of Needham with regard to the general understanding of Daoist physiological alchemy. A close copy of the rubbing also appears in K.M. Schipper, "The Taoist Body," *History of Religions*, 17 (1978), 355–381, as Fig. 1.
3. I. Veith, *Huang Ti Nei Ching Su Wen: The Yellow Emperor's Classic of Internal Medicine* (Berkeley, 1972), 4–9.
4. *Ibid.*, 9–25.
5. Y. Yoshioka, "Taoist Monastic Life," H. Welch and A. Seidel, eds., *Facets of Taoism: Essays in Chinese Religion* (New Haven, 1979), 229–252.
6. Rousselle, "Ne Ging Tu." Also Needham, *Science*, V:5, 114. Whether the stone stele is still in the White Cloud Temple is an open issue that can be answered when I have the chance to visit this famous temple in person. Yoshioka, on p. 250 of his "Taoist Monastic Life," gives a rather detailed floorplan of the White Cloud Temple, including seventy-two locations. The stele in question, however, is not marked. If the rubbing was taken from a wooden plank, as noted by Liu Chengyin, then this wooden plank may be stored in the Pavilion of the Daoist Canon (*canjing ke*).
7. The most comprehensive study of physiological alchemy in English is, of course, Needham's *Science*, V:5. For a much simpler and less precise introduction to this respect, see C.Y. Chang, "An Introduction to Taoist Yoga," *The Review of Religion*, 20 (1956), 131–148; also J. Blofeld, *The Secret and Sublime: Taoist Mysteries and Magic* (New York, 1973), 129–151, as well as his *Taoism: The Road to Immortality* (Boulder, 1978), 113–129.
8. Needham, *Science*, V:5, 27.
9. Note that the character "fo" ("Buddhahood") is written in an ancient manner, consisting of three parts, "man," "west," "country," meaning the person from a country in the west.
10. In Lü Dongbin's poem, the cauldron is of two-*sheng* volume; in the *Nei Jing Tu*, half a *sheng* volume. Each measurement indicates a very small cauldron.
11. Lü Dongbin, *Lüzu zhi* (Records of Lü the Patriarch), 5:11a (*Zhengtong Daozang* [Daoist Tripiṭaka], LX:48694). Both in the *Zhongwen da zidian* (The Complete Dictionary of Chinese) (Taipei)

(I:2370) and Morohashi Tetsuji, *Dai Kan-Wa ji-ten* (The Complete Chinese-Japanese Dictionary) (Tokyo) (I:2294), this couplet is erroneously given as derived from a Chan Buddhist book entitled *Wudeng huiyuan* (The Convergence of the Essentials of the Five Lamps) by Monk Pu Ji during the Song Dynasty. The first sentence is hence wrongly understood as that Buddhahood is discernible even in the most common things. The twenty-chapter (*quan*) *Wudeng huiyuan* does not contain this couplet, nevertheless.

12. H. Maspéro, "Les Procédés de 'nourrir le principe vital' dans la Religion Taoiste Ancienne," *Journal Asiatique*, 228 (1937), 77–252, 353–430; 229 (1937), 177–353, par. 194.
13. R. Stein, "Jardins en miniature d'extrême-orient," *Bulletin de l'École Française de l'Extrême-Orient*, 42 (1942), 53–54.
14. Rousselle, "Ne Ging Tu," 210.
15. *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*, trans. B. Watson (New York, 1968), chap. 6, par. 82–83 (hereafter, Watson, *Chuang Tzu*). The sentence of concern is rendered as "After he had put life outside himself, he was able to achieve the brightness of dawn, and when he had achieved the brightness of dawn, he could see his own aloneness." (83). Although the rising sun per se is not directly mentioned in the text, the brightness of the rising sun is clearly suggested. If this enlightenment is couched in psychological terms, it can be interpreted as the transformation from "a consciousness limited to ego-form in the form of the non-ego-like-self." C.G. Jung's foreword to D.T. Suzuki, *An Introduction to Zen Buddhism* (New York, 1964), 13.
16. Zhang Junfang, *Yunji qi qian* (The Seven Bamboo Tablets of the Cloudy Satchels) (ca. A.D. 1022), 11:44 (*Dao Zang*, XXXVI:29248).
17. For Mt. Kunlun in geomancy, see, for example, S. Skinner, *The Living Earth Manual of Feng-shui: Chinese Geomancy* (London, 1989), 44–45.
18. For a general discussion of the Paradise Lost in different cultures, see R. Heinberg, *Memories and Visions of Paradise: Exploring the Universal Myth of a Lost Golden Age* (Los Angeles, 1989). Mt. Kunlun is mentioned in 58, 60. See also Needham, *Science*, II:100–121, par. 111, for Daoist attack on civilization and nostalgia for paradise.
19. For the study of the number nine in Chinese culture, see M. Granet, *La Pensée Chinoise* (rpt., Paris, 1968), 234.
20. Detailed in R.A. Stein, *The World in Miniature: Container Gardens and Dwellings in Far Eastern Religious Thought*, trans. P. Brooks (Stanford, 1990), 226. An article is also of relevance in this respect, M. Symié, "Le Lo-feou Chan, étude de géographie religieuse," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, 48 (1956), 1–139.
21. Monk Puguang (Vasubandhu), *Jiushe lun* (*Abhidharmakośa*, Treasury of the Higher Subtleties), translated into Chinese by Paramārtha in 563–567 and by Xuanzang in 651–654, (Tripiṭaka ed., vol. 41, no. 1821), 18:185–192. The importance of this work lies in its coverage of Buddhist ontology, psychology, cosmology, and ethics.
22. This Daoist legend can be traced to *Tang Zi* (rpt., Taipei, 1976 [facsimile of an early 20-century ed.]), 5:3b.
23. Wang Zinian, *Shiyi ji* (Records of Leftover) (*Shou fu*, Commercial Press ed., 1926), 30:11a–b. Stein has referred to this source in his discussion of Mt. Kunlun, *World in Miniature*, 227.
24. Explained and illustrated in R.J. Corless, *The Vision of Buddhism* (New York, 1989), 138–142.
25. "Gridhrakūṭa is known as the Vulture Peak. . . it is called the Spiritual Vulture Peak in full, and Spiritual Peak in short." Monk Bianji, translated into Chinese by Xuanzang (ca. 596–664), *Da Tang xiyu ji* (Record of the Regions to the West of China in the Great Tang Dynasty) (*Sibu congkan chubian* ed., history: vol.17, 1975), 9:96.

26. For example, Zuo Si, "Wudu fu" ("Ode to the Capital of the Wu [State]"), in Xiao Tong, ed., *Zhaoming wenxuan* (Anthology of Literary Writings Edited by Prince Zhaoming) (Taipei: *Wenhua shuju* [facsimile rpt. of 1809 ed.], n.d.), 64–77, par. 66.
27. "Keng Zangchu," *Zhuangzi* (rpt., Taipei, 1976 [facsimile of an early 20th-century ed.]), 8:8a. Watson renders it as "Spirit Tower," *Chuang Tsu*, 255, n. 10.
28. Mochizuki, *Bukkyō-daijiten*, s.v. "Indara-mō." I am obliged to Dr. Hiram Woodward for pointing out this interpretation to me.
29. From the famous *Essay on the Golden Lion* by Fazang when he tried to explain the *Huayan Sutra* to Empress Wu Zetian (r. 690–704). See K. Ch'en, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey* (Princeton, 1964), 316–320; Corless, *Vision*, 36–38, in which a section of Fazang's essay is given. See also L.O. Gómez and H.W. Woodward, eds., *Barabudur: History and Significance of a Buddhist Monument* (Berkeley, 1981), 179, in which a similarity between the Huayan doctrine of Indra's Net and the plan of the upper levels of the monument at Barabudur is suggested; further references are given in n. 28.
30. Rousselle, "Ne Ging Tu."
31. Schipper, "Taoist Body." The interest of this article, however, lies mainly in using the figure of the white-headed old man—being accepted as the historical Laozi—to expound Laozi's cosmogonic body as coexistent with the principle of the universe. No effort is made to analyze the iconographic contents of the *Nei Jing Tu*.
32. Cited *ibid.*
33. It would be more convincing if the features of the sun, the moon, and the Kunlun mountain could have been related to those seen in the rubbing. As we will see below, my acceptance of the identification of the historical Laozi is conditional, based on an interpretation coherent with the other symbols in the rubbing.
34. For the translation of *shen* I adopt "archeus"; the definition of which is given as "The immaterial principle supposed by the Paracelsians to produce and preside over the activities of the animal and vegetable economy; vital force." (*The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., s.v., "archeus"). The example given after the definition further clarifies the usage in our concern: "It was held that the chief *archeus* was situated in the stomach, and that subordinate *archei* regulated the action of other organs."
35. *Shangqing huangting neijing jing* (Manual of the Supreme Purity of the Internal Radiance of the Yellow Courts) in *Yunji qi qian* (The Seven Bamboo Tablets of the Cloudy Satchel) by Zhang Junfang in ca. A.D. 1022, 18:5a–b (*Dao Zang*, XXXVI:29334).
36. N.J. Girardot, *Myth and Meaning in Early Taoism: The Theme of Chaos (hun-tun)* (Berkeley, 1983), 286.
37. Rousselle, "Ne Ging Tu." Needham, *Science*, V:5, 116.
38. For example, "A blue-eyed foreign barbarian sat by himself for nine years." Monk Puji of the Song Dynasty, *Wudeng huiyuan* (The Convergence of the Essentials of the Five Lamps) (Ming Jiajing ed.), 19:30b.
39. Rousselle, "Ne Ging Tu," 212, and note a.
40. *Ibid.*
41. Listed in the *Wuzhen bian* (Poetical Essay on Realizing the Necessity of Regenerating the Primary Vitality), composed by Zhang Boduan about A.D. 1075 (28–30, in *Dao Zang*, IV:2904–2905). Although these pages are reproduced in Needham, *Science*, V:5, 97, the significance of these two terms evaded his attention.
42. Quoted in Needham, *Science* V:5, 222.
43. *Yun ji qi qian*, 11:12, in *Dao Zang*, XXXVI:29232.
44. Liu An, *Huai'nan zi*, 7:2a. Also see T.L. David, "The Dualistic Cosmogony of Huai-nan-tzu and its Relations to the Background of Chinese and of European Alchemy," *Isis*, 25 (1936), 327–340; G.P. Conger, *Theories of Macrocosms and Microcosms in the History of Philosophy* (New York, 1967).
45. Although I am hesitant to follow Rousselle's interpretation that the red sun refers to the third "heavenly eyes" in the forehead, I should like to give him the credit of first pointing out that the dot on the left stands for the sun and the one on the right stands for the moon. Rousselle, "Ne Ging Tu," 211.
46. The *que* is made of two free-standing pillars marking the entrance of an architectural complex. It was particularly popular in the Han Dynasty. An example can be seen in L. Sickman and A. Soper, *The Art and Architecture of China* (Baltimore, 1971), fig. 250.
47. Needham, *Science*, V:5, 29–30.
48. Ke Hong, *Bao Pu Zi*, 5:5a. Also see J.R. Ware, trans., *Alchemy, Medicine and Religion in the China of A.D. 320: the "Nei Pien" of Ko Hung* (Cambridge, 1966), 105.
49. Zhang Junfang, *Yunji qi qian*, 11:45, in *Dao Zang*, XXXVI: 29248.
50. Zhang Junfang, *Yun ji qi qian*, 11:45, in *Dao Zang*, XXXVI: 29248. It happens that, in a book written in the Han, Mt. Kunlun is mentioned as having towns and twelve jade pagodas. Huan Lin, *Xiwangmu zhuang* (Record of the Mother of the West) (Tao Zongyi, *Shou fu* [Wanwei shantang ed., 1646], sect. 113, p. 22. These twelve jade pagodas also appear on the summit of Mt. Kunlun in another book from the Han, Dongfang shuo, *Hainei shizhou ji* (Record of the Ten Continents in the World) (*Shou fu*, sec. 66, 10b–11a). Nevertheless, I cannot make a logical, much less a convincing, connection between this source and the Daoist usage for the trachea. Perhaps it is only a coincidence.
51. *Lüzu zhi*, 7:7b–8a (*Dao Zang*, LX:48692–48693).
52. For the translation of "xuan" as "mysticism" I adopt the definition given in *Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary*: "The experience of mystical union or direct communion with ultimate reality reported by mystics."
53. These two sentences comprise the last couplet in the aforementioned poem by Lü Dongbin. The first line is slightly different in Lü's poem: "If [one] seeks within [the above secrets], one will acquire the [secret of] mysticism" (*ruo xiang ci zhong xuan hui de*).
54. Rousselle, "Ne Ging Tu," 213.
55. *Daizōkyō* (The Tripitaka in Chinese) (Tokyo, 1925–1932).
56. *Fushuo Wuliangshoufo jing* (Sutra of the Buddha of Unlimited Longevity), *Dazang jing* ed., no. 360, chap. 1: 267.
57. For example, *Lotus Sutra*, 1:5. Also *ibid.*, 4:34.
58. In Tripitaka, no. 262, 1:2. For English translation I adopt that in L. Hurvitz, *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma* (New York, 1976), 4. See also the translation in W.E. Soothill, *The Lotus of the Wonderful Law* (rpt., London, 1975), 60.
59. *Ibid.*, but the English translation of the question and answer is mine.
60. *Jushe lun*, 18:282.
61. Rousselle, "Ne Ging Tu," 213.
62. *Foshou guan wuliang shoufo jing*, in *Dazang jing*, no. 365, p. 341. The translation is mine.
63. For an explicit introduction to the Maitreya cult in China and the formation of *Mile fo*, the Laughing Buddha, see Ch'en, *Buddhism*, 405–408.
64. For a detailed study on this debate, see Wang Weicheng, *Laozi*

huahushuo kaozheng (A Critical Study of the Contention of Laozi Converting the Barbarians), *Guoxue jikan* (Quarterly of Sinology), IV, 2 (1934), 44–55.

65. For the equalization between yin and yang (water and fire), see Needham, *Science*, V:5, 67–82.

66. Detailed by Needham in *Science*, V:5, 72–73.

67. Needham, *Science*, IV:3, 548.

68. Fully discussed by Needham in *Science*, V:5, 34–67.

69. *The I Ching*, trans., R. Wilhelm, rendered into English by C.F. Baynes (Princeton, 1983), I.

70. Chen Zhixu, *Jindan dayao* (Main Essentials of the Metallous Enchymoma; the true Gold Elixir) of A.D. 1331, 1:31b, quoted by Needham, *Science*, V:5, 40.

71. Such a system came into being during the Later Han or the Three Kingdom period, as it was first seen in Ke Hong's *Bao Pu Zi*, about A.D. 300.

72. Ke Hong, *Bao Pu Zi*, 18:1b, trans. and quoted in Needham, *Science*, V:5, 39.

73. *Ibid.*

74. *Ibid.*

75. Needham, *Science*, V:5, 38.

76. Needham, *Science*, V:5, 22, n.d.

77. Needham, *Science*, V:5, 55–56.

78. For a discussion of ancient Chinese representations of constellations, see Needham, *Science*, III, 19–25.

79. Needham, *Science*, V:5, 100.

80. Such usages can be found throughout Chan texts, such as *Wudeng huiyuan*.

81. Reproduced on p. 41 from the *Taiyi jinhua zongzhi* (Principles of the Inner Radiance of the Gold Elixir) compiled by Jiang Yuanling in 1668, a Daoist treatise on meditation and sexual techniques. This treatise is translated by R. Wilhelm with a commentary by C.G. Jung as *The Secret of the Golden Flower: A Chinese Book of Life* (rpt., New York, 1975). Needham gives a substantial discussion on the rendition of this treatise: *Science*, V:5, 248–252.

82. For this constellation, see Needham, *Science*, III, 245, 251, 276. For the relationship between Altair and Vega, see III, 282.

83. Wilhelm rendered *cha nü* as “bride” (*Secret*, 69), and Needham, “pretty girl” (*Science*, V:5, 250). I follow Needham's rendition.

84. The captions designating the six archei in this diagram are different from the common phrases in that the fifth character “zi”¹ (alias) is changed into “zi”² (by oneself). If the translation follows the caption in the rubbing it should read: “The archeus of the heart is called Essence of the Internal Elixir; it guards the spirit.” Although this translation still makes sense, obviously the author of the rubbing made a slip of the pen. The text is correctly given in the painting (fig. 4). For the present translations, I follow the six cognomena found in *Shangqing huangting neijing jing* (Manual of the Supreme Purity of the Internal Radiance of the Yellow Courts) in Zhang Junfang, *Yunji qi qian*, 11:23a–24b, in *Dao Zang*, XXXVI: 29237–29238.

85. The *Yunji qi qian* provides further interpretations regarding these archei of the viscera (*ibid.*) For the archeus of the heart, it reads: “Internal allegory; the heart is the origin/essence of viscera; it is the dwelling of fire of the south, hence it is named Keeper of Spirit.” For the archeus of the lung, it reads: “The lung is the canopy of the heart; *hao* means white, the color of metal of the west; the lung is white and is light and immaterial, hence it is named

Attainment of Immateriality.” For the archeus of the liver, it reads: “The liver belongs to the phase/element of Wood; it has the color of the blue dragon of the east. Among the viscera, it is in charge of the eyes. The sun rises in the east, and Wood produces Fire; hence it is named Containing Brightness.” For the archeus of the reins, it reads: “The reins belong to Water, and hence is called Mysterious Obscurity; semen is produced in the reins, allowing the conception of a child, and is hence called Conception of Baby.” For the archeus of the spleen, it reads: “The spleen is in the center, the location of Earth, and is hence named ‘Always There;’ it is the palace of the Yellow Court. The spleen digests food and the archeus is healthy and strong, and is hence named Sojourn of the Soul.” For the archeus of the gall-bladder, it reads: “The color of the gall-bladder is bluish yellow; that is why [the archeus] is called Dragon Brightness; it is in charge of bravery and audacity, and is hence named Majesty Illumination. It follows the external phenomenon of the blue dragon flying in clouds.”

86. Needham, *Science*, V:5, 79.

87. The “conjunction of heart and reins” is discussed in Needham, *Science*, V:5, 72–80.

88. Needham, *Science*, V:5:114–116. For a shorter description of the lesser and greater circulations, see C.Y. Chang, *Creativity and Taoism* (New York, 1970), 155.

89. Except the last couplet, this poem is identical with a poem in Lü Dongbin, *Lüzu zhi*, 4:16a (*Daozang*, LX:48685).

90. R.A. Stein, “Religious Taoism and Popular Religion from the Second to Seventh Centuries,” in Welch and Seidel, eds., *Facets of Taoism* (New Haven, 1979), 53–81, par. 76.

91. It appears that such multiple statuses are similar to, yet much more complicated than, the iconography in alchemical illustrations in Europe. The European counterparts are simply allegorical, at most symbolic and psychological. For the allegorical interpretation, see, for example, L.S. Dixon and P. ten-Doesschate Chu, “An Iconographical Riddle: Gerbrandt van den Eeckhout's *Royal Repast* in the Liechtenstein Princely Collections,” *Art Bulletin*, 71:4 (December 1989), 609–627. This article gives us a clear picture of how art represents alchemy as a fact of seventeenth-century life. For a discussion on the symbolic (par. psychological) aspect in European alchemy, see Needham, *Science*, V:5, *passim*, in which some interesting illustrations and a most comprehensive bibliography are given.

92. Fung Yu-lan, *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, 2 vols., trans., D. Bodde (Princeton, 1952), 4–6.

93. Detailed in Needham, *Science*, V:2, 33–164, par. 33–36.

94. F.H. Cook, “Fa-tsang's Brief Commentary on the *Prajñāpāramitā hṛdaya-sūtra* [Heart Sutra],” in Minoru Kiyota, ed., *Mahāyāna Buddhist Meditation: Theory and Practice* (Honolulu, 1978), 167–206.

95. Ch'en, *Buddhism*, 473–476.

96. Liu Ts'un-yan and J. Berling, “The ‘Three Teachings’ in the Mongol-Yüan Period,” in Hok-lam Chan and Wm. T. de Bary, eds., *Yüan Thought: Chinese Thought and Religion Under the Mongols*, 477–512, esp. 492–496.

97. Fung Yu-lan, *Chinese Philosophy*, II:717.

98. Needham, *Science*, V:5, 280–285. R.H. van Gulik, *Sexual Life in Ancient China: A Preliminary Survey of Chinese Sex and Society from 1500 B.C. to A.D. 1644* (Leiden, 1961). Also see Chang, “Taoist Yoga.”

99. *The Book of Balance and Harmony*, trans., T. Cleary (San Francisco, 1989), xxi. See also Ch'en, *Buddhism*, 361–363.

PHOTOGRAPHS: figs. 1–3, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery.

CHINESE TERMS*

canjing ke	藏經閣	jin chi	金池	Sun (trigram)	巽
cha nü	姤女	jing	精	tai ji	太極
chi long	赤龍	jing qi	精氣	taixuan liuyi	
dan sha	丹砂	Kan (trigram)	坎		太玄流液
Dharmagupta (Fazang)		Ken (trigram)	艮	taiyi shenshui	
	達磨笈多(法藏)	kua	卦		太一神水
dongfang	洞房	Kun (trigram)	坤	tian gan	天干
Dui (trigram)	兌	Kunlun	崑崙	tian yan	天眼
Fa Mi	法密	Li (trigram)	離	wai shen	外腎
Fa Zang	法藏	Liao Ping	廖平	wei lü	尾閭
fengshui	風水	Mile fo	彌勒佛	xian	仙
fo	佛(儺)	ming tang	明堂	Wu Zetian	武則天
fu tian	福田	nei shen	內腎	xuwu zhendan	
hao	皓	qi	氣		虛無真丹
huan dan	還丹	Qian (trigram)	乾	yuan qi	元氣
huang ting	黃庭	qiong long	穹窿	yujing shan	玉京山
ji ji	既濟	Quan zhen	全真	yu yi	玉液
jia ji	夾脊	que	闕	Zhen (trigram)	震
jiang gong	絳宮	shen	神	zi ¹	字
jin que	金闕	shen shui	神水	zi ²	自

*Chinese characters included in the illustrations are not given

CHINESE TEXTS

Bianji, Xuanzang, <i>Da Tang xiyu ji</i>	辯機，玄藏，大唐西域記
Chen Zhixu, <i>Jindan dayao</i>	陳致虛，金丹大要
<i>Dazang jing</i> (Daizōkyō)	大藏經
Dongfang shuo, <i>Hainei shizhou ji</i>	東方朔，海內十洲記
Dong Zhenzi, <i>Xiuzhen liyan caotu</i>	洞真子，修真歷驗鈔圖
<i>Foshuo guan wuliang shoufo jing</i>	佛說觀無量壽佛經
<i>Huahu jing</i>	化胡經
Huan Lin, <i>Xiawangmu zhuan</i>	桓麟，西王母傳
Jiang Yuanting, <i>Taiyi jinhua zongzhi</i>	蔣元庭，太乙金華宗旨
Ke Hong, <i>Bao Pu Zi</i>	葛洪，抱樸子
Liu An, <i>Huai'nan zi</i>	劉安，淮南子
Lü Dongbin, <i>Lüzu zhi</i>	呂洞賓，呂祖志
Peng Xiao, <i>Ming jing tu</i>	彭曉，明鏡圖
Puguang, <i>Jushe lun</i>	普光，俱舍論
Pu Ji, <i>Wudeng huiyuan</i>	普濟，五燈會元
<i>Shangqing huangting neijing jing</i>	上清黃庭內景經
Tao Zongyi, <i>Shoufu</i>	陶宗儀，說郛
Wang Weicheng, <i>Laozi huahushuo kaozheng</i>	王維誠，老子化胡說考證
Xiao Tong, <i>Zhaoming wenxuan</i>	蕭統，昭明文選
<i>Xiaodao lun</i>	笑道論
Zhang Boduan, <i>Wuzhen bian</i>	張伯端，悟真篇
Zhang Junfang, <i>Yunji qi qian</i>	張君房，雲笈七籤
<i>Zhengtong Daozang</i>	正統道藏
Zuo Si, "Wudu fu"	左思，吳都賦